

SOCIAL *News-Letter* ACTION

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CLEVELAND CONFERENCE CONSIDERS AMERICAN POWER

WALTER W. SIKES

"We seek that our nation shall resist both the temptation to use its power irresponsibly and the temptation to flee the responsibilities of its power," said the 65 delegates to the Third National Study Conference of the Churches on World Order meeting at Cleveland March 8 to 11. Convened by the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches, this was the largest and most representative interdenominational Protestant gathering ever to consider international affairs. Its members represented some 48 different communions and allied agencies from 38 states of the Union. Disciples churches were represented by 14 official delegates appointed by the International Convention and 12 others coming as alternates, delegates of city or state councils of churches or of other functional Christian organizations. James A. Crain and Walter W. Sikes were present ex officio as members of the staff of the department of social welfare.

The central theme of the conference, "The Moral Use of American Power," was interpreted to mean, essentially, how can the United States employ its preponderant economic and military force in the interest of peace, justice and freedom? Accordingly, the exclusive concern of the conference was with what was explicitly designated the "worldly power" of this nation. Such power this nation possesses neither as the consequence of historical accident nor as a reward of our virtue, in the opinion of the delegates, but as "a trust for which we are accountable to God." It can be used morally.

The message of the conference was thus word addressed by these representatives of the churches to the nation. There was no examination of the peculiar task of the Christian or of the Church as such.

Two brief, but impressive, notes of a somewhat different order were voiced in the short messages called, "Guiding Principles for This Time of Tension." "We believe," the first of these declared, "that the most needed power is spiritual power that comes from God. . . . That is the power that enables men to forgive their enemies and to seek their welfare, to endure misunderstanding and persecution, to do the right as God gives them to see the right, and to act with penitence and humility." The second called upon Christians to "face calmly the dangers of the situation," in the realization that there "can be no assurance that even our best efforts . . . can guarantee peace." Even so, nothing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

The conference was realistic in facing the fact that the immediate issue is that of maintaining peace between Russia and the United States. While affirming that war is not inevitable and that it is even improbable, given proper use of American power, the danger is real. The judgment of John Foster Dulles expressed in his key-note address was accepted as a premise. Mr. Dulles said that "so far as it is humanly possible to judge, Russia does not contemplate the use of war to gain

WESTERN BLIZZARD AND THE MIGRANTS

RUTH E. MILNER

The already complicated problem of migrant labor has been made more acute by the unprecedented cold weather in the Western states. Some 75,000 of these migratory agricultural workers will suffer greatly because of the loss of the entire tomato and pea crops in the Imperial Valley, and the heavy reduction of other vegetable and citrus crops.

Normally these people complete the harvest of cotton in the San Joaquin Valley early in February. There are always lean weeks between the end of cotton harvest and the vegetable harvest, which begins in May. This year these weeks will be lengthened, and California state employment agencies which seek work for the migrants say that "now there will be no place to send them."

Commenting upon this situation, *The Christian Century* of Feb. 16, 1949, says, "The human problem posed by the 2,500,000 migrant workers in the United States, with those on the West Coast now in most acute need, demands national action designed to protect their livelihood, their housing, the education of their children and their health. That requires action by Congress."

All Federal services to migrants terminated with the year 1947—and yet the U.S. Department of Labor terms "Migrant Labor—A Human Problem!"

In the meantime the Home Missions Council of North America, through its nation-wide migrant program, will do as much as possible to help ease the tragic plight of these people. A portion of the offerings received at World Day of Prayer services will be used by the Home Missions Council to provide child care centers for agricultural migrants.

In the competition of ideologies and systems for the allegiance of man, communist leadership is astute in aiming its assaults against positions that are indefensible, morally or practically. Unhappily, there are many such positions, political, economic and social.

The whole East is restless. Century old patterns of government, education, industry, religion and family relations have broken down. New desires have awakened. . . . There is a continuing struggle for independence and for improved living conditions. Confidence in the system of Western democracy has been shaken. Two world wars and a great economic depression have seemed to indicate the inability of the West to control either national rivalries or the mechanisms of production and distribution. Unjust discriminations and segregation based on race and color still persist in America and weaken her moral influence throughout Asia and Africa.

There was a time when the Western democracies had great prestige because of their dynamic pursuit of liberty, equality and fraternity; their great experiments in political freedom, and their industrial revolution which multiplied the productivity of human effort. . . .

There is no policy so barren, so certain to fail, as that of merely maintaining the status quo. If our nation's leadership is to be worthy, it must develop constructive and creative programs that will capture the imagination and enlist the support of the multitudes whose interest in battling political, economic and racial injustice is greater than their interest in defending such injustices merely because communism attacks it.

(From the "Message" of the Cleveland Conference)

The Minister and Economic Issues

Courses on the Minister and Economic Issues under the auspices of the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the Federal Council of Churches are offered by the University of Chicago June 27 to July 28. Scholarships covering costs for five Disciples ministers are available.

Ministers who would like to be considered for appointment should write directly to the Department of Social Welfare, 222 South Downey, Indianapolis 7.

(Continued on Page 3, Column 2)

SOCIAL ACTION NEWS-LETTER

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Is the Roman Church Dissolving?

Whatever may be the judgment of mankind on the arrest, trial and sentence of Cardinal Mindszenty, it appears that the occurrence has a most sinister meaning for the Roman Catholic Church. According to such careful newspapers as *The Christian Science Monitor*, that Church has suffered another major disaster in a series of historic losses. Just here we do not pause to assess judgment on what possible serious influence it will have on the future of Christianity as held by other religious groups.

What is to be seen in this happening is the sore plight of the Roman Catholic Church in the almost certain loss of eastern Europe. In the Reformation it suffered the severance of northern Europe, to be followed somewhat later by the defection of the British Isles with the exception of a portion of Ireland. The present debacle in eastern Europe reduces the Roman Catholic Church to the relatively small possessions of Italy, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, and a minority in France. Equally depressing for the Roman Church is the news from South America where authenticated reports warrant fears most ominous for the fate of the Roman Catholic Church and in probably a shorter time than most people are aware of, due to deplorable economic conditions and social ferment before which the Roman Church stands challenged.

We do not know what effect the dissolution of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world would have upon the future of Christianity, but we do not believe any tyrannical power can obliterate it. Let us try to summon believers to a worthy endeavor to preserve the faith of the Bible throughout the earth with stout defense of full religious liberty in all lands. God's eternal redemptive purpose, revealed in the Bible, will be carried to final consummation. We lament the menace of Communism in the lands invaded by it, but none can fail to see that an ecclesiastical totalitarian Roman Church which seeks political control of the state, when challenged by a powerful, unscrupulous political opposition, seeks to align our government and our resources in its behalf. Even though Protestants should suffer the same indignities and repressions in Communist countries for a time, we do not believe such persecution of religion will end Christianity.

J. M. Dawson, in *Report from the Capital*, February 1949

WASHINGTON ROUND-UP

ROBERT A. FANGMEIER

The Legislative Mill. The entire "Fair Deal" program of President Truman has been jeopardized since his forces in the Senate were defeated in their effort to curb the filibuster by changing the Senate Rules. The victorious coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans were able to defeat the proposed change in Senate Rules that would have made it possible to stop the filibuster, and eventually to enact Civil Rights legislation.

Moreover, it appears that this coalition has a majority in the Senate which may work for the defeat or modification of other "Fair Deal" proposals such as public housing, rent control, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, reciprocal trade, and improved social security legislation. The "new" majority in the Senate will probably vote out some of the legislation mentioned above but in a restricted form that will not be acceptable to the administration, or its supporters among labor and liberal groups in the nation. The courageous attempt to break the filibuster and enact civil rights legislation has shaken the entire administration program in the field of domestic legislation.

The coalition of Southern Democrats and some Republicans served the conservative interest of both groups. An example of the attitude of some Republicans was typified by Senator John W. Bricker (R. O.). Senator Bricker tried to amend the housing bill in committee with a clause that would bar segregation. This would seem to indicate that the Senator favored civil rights legislation, but he was one of the Republicans who voted with the Southern Democrats. It is expected that grateful Southern Democrats will reciprocate when the housing bill, to which Bricker is opposed, is up for consideration.

Conscientious Objectors. The National Service Board for Religious Objectors, 941 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. in Washington, has announced that 4,903 men received the deferred classification of 4E under the new draft law. In addition 170 conscientious objectors have refused to register, and are being prosecuted by the Department of Justice. The Objectors are largely Mennonites, Brethren, and Quakers, although a sizable number from other denominations are also registered. By state, Kansas leads with 797 men opposed to all war, Ohio is next with 734, followed by Indiana with 592, and Pennsylvania 585. Information regarding CO problems can be obtained by writing the National Service Board.

Guided Missiles. H.R. 1741, providing for a guided missile proving ground passed the House March 9. A radar-screen bill (H.R. 2546) was also passed. Total debate time for both measures—1 hour. Total cost: \$160,500,000. Total opposition: 0.

The Rankin Bill. The Rankin Bill (H.R. 2681) provides \$90 a month to all veterans at the age of 65. It is estimated that the minimum cost of this legislation would be \$100 million the first year, and ultimately rising to 6 to \$7 billion annually. Rep. Eugene Cox (D. Ga.) predicts that the bill will be adopted overwhelmingly by the House, and most observers in Washington agree with him. All House members come up for re-election in 1950 and it is felt that it would be political suicide to vote against the bill. The legislation is expected to have a more difficult time in the Senate, and if it passes is likely to face a veto by President Truman.

Oriental Exclusion Act Repeal. This bill (H.R. 199) introduced by Rep. Walter Judd (R. Minn.) passed the House of Representatives March 1. The Senate Judiciary Committee has not considered the bill at this writing.

Budget Jitters. This is the time of the year when the various government departments ask Congress for appropriations to carry on their programs. Naturally the departments whether civilian or military lobby for their particular programs. Consequently, along with the spring rain, and humid summers Washington has come to expect a "war scare" when the military establishments ask congress for money.

Inside information on the actual possibility of war is known to only a few high administration officials. So when a military spokesman testifying before an appropriation committee of Congress says that a "mysterious submarine" has been sighted off our coast, Congressmen are likely to accept this statement as indicating that serious international difficulties lie ahead. Drew Pearson reported in his column of December 29, that a miscalculation by General Clay was responsible for the statement last March "that Russia might be preparing to attack." Actually they were preparing for the Berlin blockade. On the basis of information from General Clay the President asked Congress for Selective Service and got it. Miscalculations and scare talk make it difficult to distinguish the real dangers from the straw men. Appropriation hearings will continue for the first session of the Eighty-first Congress, and it will be interesting to determine the relationship between the hearings and any international crises that may develop.

70 Group Air Force. This bill (H.R. 1437) has been favorably reported by the House Armed Service Committee. A 70 Group Air Force is the eventual goal of the Air Force; the House Armed Services Committee is reported to have approved 52 groups this year. President Truman requested only a 48 group air force in an endeavor to keep the military budget under \$14.7 billion.

(Continued on Page 4, Column 3)

ON SOCIAL FRONTIERS

JAMES A. CRAIN

They Did Something About It. In May, 1948 a Regional Workshop on World Order was held at Lincoln, Nebraska. Among the most interested participants were a husband and wife from the Tabernacle Church in Lincoln. Impressed with the need for the ordinary citizen to do something to help maintain world peace and security, they decided to invite a few church friends into their home the next Sunday evening to discuss the situation over tea and cookies. That experiment has grown until it has become the Christian Social Action Department of the Tabernacle Church. The February 18 *News-Sheet* of the Tabernacle Church carries the following notice: "A study of the Bill of Human Rights, passed at the recent session of the United Nations in Paris will feature the meeting of the Christian Social Action Department at the Lobdell's home, 1210 Peach Street, next Sunday evening. Paralleling the above study will be study of our national Bill of Rights, our Nebraska Bill of Rights and the Beatitudes. This should be a very interesting meeting. Everyone is invited. Sandwich supper at 6 p.m. for those who want this fellowship, and discussion hour is set for 7 p.m. Come either time. You will be welcome." This much any church or group could do for peace.

* * *

Uncle Sam, Spendthrift. Uncle Sam is the most extravagant spender the world has ever seen. At the close of World I, the national debt was \$24 billion; at the end of World War II, it stood at \$263 billion, with but minor reductions since 1945. In simpler and more easily understood terms, it means that at the end of World War I, the debt was \$228 for every man, woman and child in the U.S. At the end of World War II (and substantially the same in 1949), it was \$1,900 for every man, woman and child. That means that for a family of five there is a concealed, unseen debt of \$9,500 hanging over the household. Its existence and reality becomes painfully evident at income tax paying time. It costs \$22 per person a year simply to pay the interest. Where did this spendthrift Uncle of ours get all this money? He borrowed 40 percent of it from his nephews; 10 percent of it by giving his notes (government bonds) to insurance companies; and the remaining 50 per cent by giving his IOUs to the banks of the nation, under promise that these too would be paid by his generous nephews.

Will these debts be paid? Yes, of course. Our gorgeous, extravagant old Uncle has an ingenious method (taxes) by which he can compel his nephews to pay his bills. As long as banks, insurance companies and nephews with surplus money will accept his IOUs at interest he can continue his prodigal spending. Does this grand old Uncle of ours show any signs of sobering up after the spending

debauch of World War II? None at all. Instead he's cooking up an alliance with a bunch of European cronies, saying "Step up boy, order anything you want—anything at all—guns, airplanes, trucks, bombs. It's all on me, you know."

But did you ever stop to think, Americans, that the banks, insurance companies and nephews with surplus cash which they are now so willing to lend are one day going to want payment? That these IOUs are in fact mortgages on your homes, your farms, your factories, your incomes and your jobs? And that when the debts are paid they will have your property?

* * *

Personal Worth Is Where You Find It. Perhaps few people will stop to ponder the fact that the most spectacular and significant diplomatic achievement of the United Nations has been brought to a successful conclusion by a man who is the son of a Detroit barber and the grandson of a Southern plantation slave. Ralph J. Bunche, PH.D., former professor at Howard University, was assistant to Count Folke Bernadotte, U.N. mediator in the Palestine situation and stepped into his chief's place when the Count was slain outside Jerusalem a few months ago. When an armistice was signed between Egypt and Israel on February 24, it brought to solution a most difficult and dangerous international situation. The signing of the armistice was more than a diplomatic triumph for the United Nations and more than a personal triumph for Dr. Ralph Bunche. It was a demonstration that ability and worth do not follow color lines, but is where you find it, regardless of race pride, blood pride or face pride. Ralph J. Bunche is a rebuke both to the Nazi theory of Aryanism and to our own peculiar brand of bourbonism that assumes no good thing can come out of a people upon whom we have arbitrarily placed the brand of inferiority.

Cleveland Conference

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 1)

her objectives. The Soviet leaders employ other methods—propaganda, penetration, sabotage, terrorism. Thinking from this premise the conference made a number of very important observations.

1. *Hazards of Power.* Although the power of the United States provides the only "material force" that can protect free peoples from communist tyranny, "such use of power may in fact lead to war," in either of two ways: by "over-zeal or corruption of motive" by American leaders; or by the provocation which this would give to Russia. As to the first of these, the conference declared that "a preventive war would be a crime against humanity and a sin against God." As to the second, Mr. Dulles assured the gathering that "It can be assumed that the Soviet State would use the Red Army if its leaders felt that their homeland was imminently and seriously menaced."

2. *The Atlantic Pact.* Refusing to take a position on the proposed Atlantic Pact, both because the text of that agreement was not available and because the conference had no opportunity to study its principles and implications, the delegates urged the Senate to delay action until the people have had opportunity "to gain full understanding of its meaning." But certain criteria for judging the propriety of regional pacts were laid down—that they be "genuinely within the framework of the United Nations"; that they be based on a "natural community of interest" and promote the general welfare of their members; and that their words must not "conceal what is essentially a military alliance which might validly appear to others to be aggressive."

In its report to the plenary session one of the three study sections, which was concerned with relations to the United Nations, laid down three further criteria for regional pacts in addition to avoidance of a return to the "balance of power" through military alliance. They should "preserve the over-arching responsibilities of the United Nations"; they should be open to all nations "reasonably entitled to membership" willing to accept the terms of the pact; and most important of all, they "should be submitted to the General Assembly for approval."

In this connection Mr. Dulles reminded the opening session of the statement previously made by the Federal Council on Soviet-American relations that the United States should not seek military bases so close to Russia as to carry an offensive threat disproportionate to defensive value. "That is why," said he, "our fellowship with the peoples of Western Europe, and particularly Scandinavia, ought not to seem to bring United States military might directly to Russia's border."

The debates on this issue seemed to reveal a contradictory desire to achieve the military advantages implicit in such an arrangement as the proposed Atlantic Pact without incurring any of the obvious liabilities frankly acknowledged in the kind of pact this appears to be.

3. *Military Control.* Following the severe indictments by Mr. Dulles that "our foreign policy has too largely been made by the military," who are incompetent to provide leadership for peace, the conference registered its belief that our nation's power, during and after the war, "fell under the direction of military strategy and it still remains largely under that direction." But if this power is to serve the ends of peace it must be directed by those who have faith in the achievability of peace and training in the use of non-military means to this end.

"In opposition to those who would seek to solve our problems merely by increasing our military power," said the conference, "we shall insist that our security rests in a more perfect mutual support of all freedom loving peoples and in healing

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 3)

SOME ACTION PROJECTS

Relief Materials—Church World Service, interdenominational relief and reconstruction agency, has a goal of 8 million pounds of supplies for 1949. The following good used materials are needed:

2,000 bales men's heavy clothing, 700 bales women's heavy clothing, 700 bales children's heavy clothing, 700 bales infant's layettes, clothing, 350 bales men's light clothing, 700 bales children's light clothing, 450 bales bedding, sheets, blankets, quilts, 40,000 lbs. men's heavy shoes, (20,000 prs.), 24,000 lbs. children's sturdy shoes, 12,000 lbs. women's low-heeled walking shoes.

Note that the greatest demand is for men's heavy clothing (suits and coats) and shoes. Material not listed cannot be used at this time. All clothing should be carefully selected and be in good, wearable condition.

Contributed supplies should be sent as soon as possible to the nearest of the following CWS warehouses:

7122 $\frac{3}{4}$ Compton Ave., Los Angeles 1, Cal.
21 Eleventh St., San Francisco 3, Cal.
510 S. Elm St., Webster Groves 19, Mo.
214 East 21st St., New York 10, N. Y.
568 First Ave., S., Seattle 4, Wash.
601 S. Olympia St., New Orleans 19, La.

Special Projects—Appeals continue to come to the department of social welfare for the names of specific individuals or families as objects of designated giving. The Reconstruction Department of the World Council of Churches whose secretaries are constantly face to face with the relief problem has issued a statement covering some of the reasons why such a type of giving cannot be promoted in any great measure. Some of the reasons follow—

- Such appeals are apt to go against the principles of ecumenical help, "To every Christian according to his need; from every Christian according to his means."
- They may lead to inequality at the receiving end, and consequently jealousy and added bitterness.
- They may lead to a shortage of un-earmarked money, and a consequent inelasticity in meeting a constantly changing situation of need.
- They leave unmet many needs which may well be just as great, but which do not easily lend themselves to popular appeal.
- They fail to take advantage, sometimes a very substantial one, of bulk purchases and bulk shipments of materials and supplies.
- They require a substantial increase in administrative staff.

While realizing that designated giving brings to the relations of givers and receivers a certain warmth and personal character which are of the greatest value in the relief situation, the department of social welfare of The United Christian Missionary Society still urges donors to send their gifts undesignated and to trust

the judgment of their representatives working in places of need for the wisest distribution.

The Heifer Project—The Heifer Project Committee is still making shipments of animals overseas.

During the first week in March a shipment of 308 goats docked in Yokohama, Japan. This brought the total of goats shipped to this country during the past fifteen months to more than 2,200, which means that thousands of small children and tubercular patients are living today who might have died had this source of milk not been available. Most of these goats were distributed among institutions such as orphanages, hospitals, and tuberculosis sanatoriums. In the coming months the committee is undertaking to ship a like number or more of goats to Okinawa where 90% of the 110,000 goats on this island before the war have been destroyed as a result of the fighting.

Resettlement of DP's—More and more inquiries are coming to the department of social welfare from our churches for information on the resettlement program for DP's. Several churches already have sent in their completed assurance forms which means that the church has become responsible for a job without displacing another worker, housing that is safe and sanitary and available without displacing another person, transportation from port of debarkation to place of resettlement and with a guarantee that the DP will not become a public charge.

Churches, communities or individuals who are interested in helping a DP or a DP family may secure desired information from the department of social welfare.

WASHINGTON WORKSHOP POSTPONED

Due to difficulties arising both in program and in registration, the Third Annual Washington Workshop on World Order, which was scheduled for March 28 to 31, has been postponed until May 2 to 5. The program will remain much the same as originally announced.

There will be one significant difference, however. The Workshop will be combined with one of the interdenominational seminars held frequently cooperatively by the social education and action secretaries of the several churches maintaining offices in or active relations with Washington. These include the Congregational, Baptist, Friends, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches.

Registrations will be received by the department of social welfare for this workshop up to the limit of 100. Costs include four groups meals, two luncheons and two dinners, at all of which principal activities of the program will be carried on, and a small charge to cover chartered busses to move the group from one location to another. Hotel reservations will be made by the department upon receipt of the registration fee of \$8.00.

(Continued from Page 3)

the breach between the two worlds."

Atlantic Pact. The North Atlantic Pact is now ready for debate by the United States Senate. Details of the Pact were revealed March 19, after nine months of secret negotiation. The treaty will be signed early in April by the participating nations which will probably include Norway, Denmark and Italy as well as the original participants, England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and the United States. A time schedule for hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has not been set, but presumably they will take place in the very near future. If hearings are held immediately the Pact will be debated in the Senate sometime in April.

As the debate begins on this historic legislation there is a feeling of anti-climax since most Americans feel that they have been committed in advance. To reject the Pact now would be to break faith with the other nations, the supporters of the Pact argue. Those who oppose the Pact declare that the Vandenberg Resolution authorizing negotiations was not fully understood by the American people, and anything less than full discussion now will fail to make the American people partners in this new and unprecedented step in foreign policy.

Supporters of the Pact claim that it will keep the peace by making our intentions clear to Russia; they also say that the Pact is a regional agreement clearly within the scope of the U.N. Charter. Criticism of this view comes from both luke warm supporters of the Pact and those who oppose it as a step likely to result in war. Such men as John Foster Dulles and columnist Walter Lippman view the inclusion of the Scandinavian countries in the Pact as unnecessarily provocative. Mr. Dulles told the recent Cleveland meeting of the National Study Conference on World Order of the Federal Council of Churches, that an alliance with the Scandinavian countries was bound to be viewed as provocative by the Soviet Union. He went on to say "our fellowship with the peoples of western Europe and particularly of Scandinavia ought not to bring United States military might directly to Russia's border." Further, Mr. Dulles says, "it would involve a high tribute to Soviet leaders to assume . . . they would exercise more self control than would our people under comparable circumstances, as, for example, if the Soviet Union had military arrangements with a country at our border."

The full text of the Pact, and its implications, seem to justify the fears of those who claim that it will split the United Nations, and lead to war rather than peace. The argument portraying the Pact as an instrument of the U.N. becomes abstruse when one asks whether it is conceivable that the framers of the U.N. Charter intended that one group within the U.N. could form a military alliance directed specifically against a member.